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ABSTRACT

A curriculum project on political party democracy in West Germany is described. Intended mainly for use in grades 9-10, the curriculum was developed by German social scientists, educators, and students from 1971 to 1973. The curriculum report is presented in two sections. Section I describes the learning package, tells who it is designed for, relates how the problems of party democracy were structured as learning material, and gives examples of how learning objectives and multimedia methods are interrelated. Section II specifies the four motives for the curriculum: party democracy as learning material, the curriculum as a multimedia-based course, the development of an objective-oriented teaching approach, and the party democracy teaching unit as an open curriculum. The first five chapters deal with the topic of election campaigns, and the last seven chapters focus on the political influence of the citizen over that of political parties in various situations including activities between elections, party platform establishment, and inner party functioning. Specific learning sequences are described. For example, the chapter titled "Election Campaign: A Publicity Spree?" provokes the student into looking more closely at the publicity stunts of an election campaign by testing seven campaign-related statements. (Author/DB)

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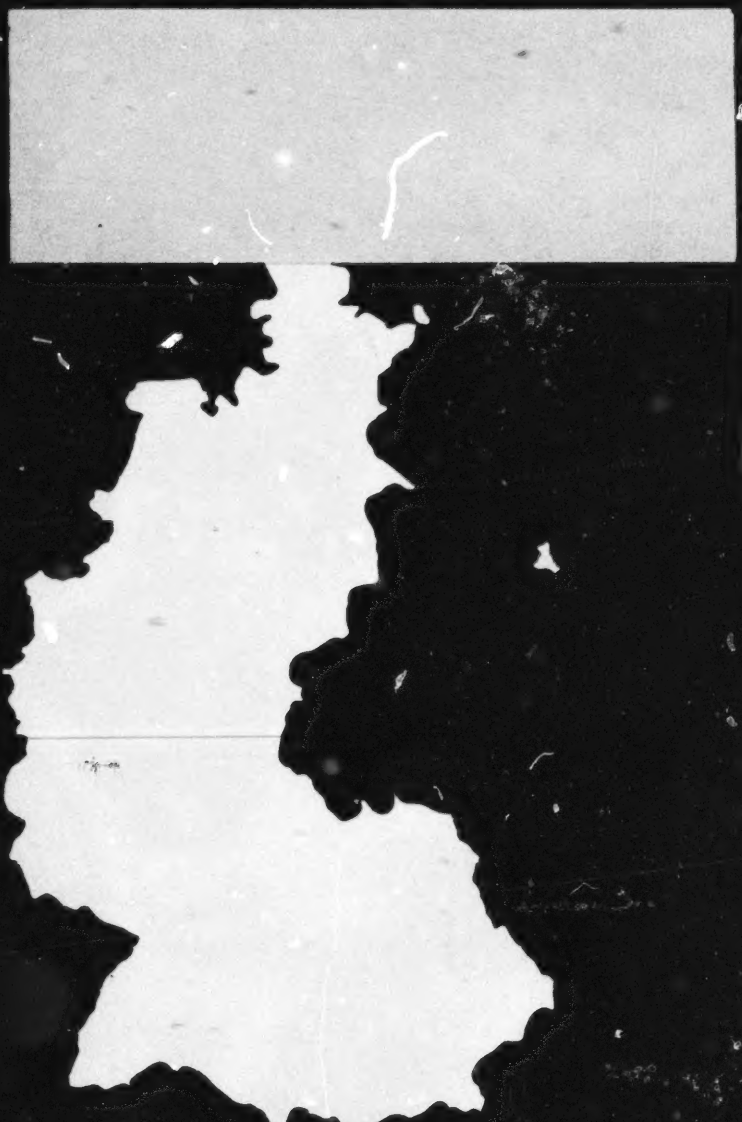

ON THE PROJECT "PARTY DEMOCRACY"

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Bloomington, Indiana: Institute of German Studies, 1976

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German Studies Notes make available to interested persons and institutions a variety of research reports and working papers produced as part of this Comparative Project. Other topics include recent sociopolitical and socioeconomic questions, problems of fiscal policy, education and educational reform, the environment and public administration, and other social and broadly cultural themes. The focus

of these papers is on the sixties and seventies, and their purpose is to facilitate the discussion and possible solution of similar problems in the two countries.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute of German Studies or to the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

Foreword

This paper is to present a teaching project on the subject "Party Democracy". T o be more exact it deals with "Party Democracy - parliamentary democracy in a party state as exemplified by the Federal Republic of Germany". The curriculum in question was developed by social scientists, particularly educators, teachers and students from Hamburg between 1971 and 1973. Our work was inspired and supported by the Federal Office for Political Education in Bonn (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung).

I do not intend to begin in typical German fashion by giving a theoretical justification of the project, although in this particular case it would have been preferable, perhaps, given that the topic smacks suspiciously of civics teaching gone sour, to clear such points of suspicion out of the way in advance. But at the moment we will refrain from presenting a teaching theory or even from showing how the design of a curriculum is derived from such a theory. The reasons are numerous! One of them is a very personal one. Having gone through the complex process of derivation from basic academic positions and having carefully explained the complex pattern of reasons and motivations, it seemed to me that I would end up still producing, as if by magic, the old topic "Party Democracy" like the veritable rabbit out of the hat.

This is no general statement of scepticism as regards theory. I should even like to concede that even today by means of a theoretical approach to the teaching of politics one can demonstrate the absolute necessity of Party Democracy as a teaching topic. But to show this is not my problem. Let it merely be noted that my way into working on this project was not "via" any particular "theory" - neither curriculum theory nor any political education theory. My interest in the project, i.e. in developing an objective-based curriculum in Party Democracy was at first purely pragmatic. It was the fascinating

opportunity to take part in the step-by-step development and testing of a multi-purpose curriculum in political learning. The attraction of practical work outweighed the scepticism I felt as regards the particular topic "Party Democracy", which seemed to me to have been taken from traditional school curriculum guidelines.

So much for personal notes which indicate why I have begun this paper with the concrete, the demonstrable. The first part of my report deals therefore with the constituent parts of the learning package on Party Democracy. It gives details of addressees, structural details and by means of concrete examples how in each case learning objectives, media and methods were interrelated.

In the second part I intend to clarify, with the help of some categories and hypotheses from our work, the elements of theory that we actually used in our curriculum development. These elements of theory could perhaps, if taken as a whole, be interpreted as a complex of motives for the curriculum.

1. Introduction to the project "Party Democracy"

1.1. First question : What does the project consist of? What are the constituent parts of the package?

The project, developed as a pilot curriculum for 'media-mix learning', consists of the following parts:

1. The Reader (for the learner - pupil or student)
   This collection of texts is not a bound book but a loose-leaf collection presented in a ring-binder to permit the renewal and addition of pages. The original version of the Reader was published by Hoffmann and Campe, Hamburg and is approximately 300 pages long.
2. The Filmstrip consisting of individual film sequences which refer to learning tasks presented in the Reader. (Particularly important text extracts from the film can be found in the Reader.)

3. The Teacher's Handbook that provides a shortened version of the didactic ideas underlying the curriculum. In conjunction with this it provides :
   - o a synopsis giving objectives and excercises for each learning sequence (closely linked to the media),
   - o hints on methods of carrying out the lesson (esp. with regard to the practical use of the various media) and also aspects of the open curriculum which should be modified according to the conditions of the particular group of students in question,
   - o possibilities and limits of evaluating the various learning sequences.

4. The Paper-back: "Party Democracy as a topic for learning" - The sub-title gives a clearer idea of its content: A study of the "didactic basis for a media-mix course oriented towards criterion-based objectives". This book (at present only available in manuscript form) attempts to present this project to a wider public, especially in the context of the following current problems :
   - o in the context of the discussion on practice-oriented curriculum development in the Federal Republic of Germany.
   - o with connection to present problems of multi-media teaching.
   - o and with reference to some present problems in political education theory.

1.2. Second question : Who is the project aimed at? Who was it designed for?

When we began work in Hamburg developing the curriculum, we had in minds pupils in the 9th and 10th grade. Based on this, the first version was tested in the last two classes in Hamburg modern secondary and technical high schools. The tests were carried out in Spring 1973 to investigate "the efficacy of multi-media teaching". During further development work, however, it proved necessary not to restrict the curriculum to one particular learning

group or age-group and more particularly not to restrict it to one type of school.

In fact the more our team moved away from its initial aim (the restrictive task of providing a curriculum on the subject Parties that was to be as teacher independent as possible - an auto-didactic learning package), the less emphasis was placed on the related programmation of individual learning sequences and thus the connection between specific age or school groups and particular learning preconditions was abandoned. For many reasons it was decided to construct an open curriculum.

The present curriculum could therefore be implemented not only in the 9th and 10th grades but also in an adult education context.

1.3. Third question : How were the problems of Party Democracy structured as learning material?

To answer this question I will first present the twelve learning steps into which we sub-divided the learning process on the basis of detailed questions. The Reader - the "steering medium" in our media-mix divides the learning material into twelve sections whose headings formulate either open or disguised hypotheses and questions for the learning group. The headings thus formed are as follows :

1. Election campaign - a publicity spree?
2. Parties (but not only parties) compete for every vote.
3. Election campaigns cost a lot of money.
4. Which voters are being aimed at, which change their minds?
5. Election results and the formation of government.
6. Additional information on voting.
7. The parties are different - yet alike.

8. The power and powerlessness of the voter between elections.
9. The influence of party members within the party.
10. Dependance and independance of MP's within the parliamentary party.
11. Those who indulge in "politics" apart from the parties.
12. The party ban and two-party concentration.

At first glance this structuralization may well seem arbitrary and unsystematic. A political scientist would no doubt ask why certain structures and categories are not accounted for whose content, in its relation to the subject complex Party Democracy can be analysed today by a "science of politics".

Without wishing to go into a detailed discussion of the question, I will try to answer the objection, if only preliminarily, and sketch out my approach by means of a global statement.

Our team approached the problem "Parties, Party State" as educators, as teaching experts, as political educators and not as political scientists. Our problem therefore was not one of giving a scientifically well-based analysis of the subject. Our question was rather how the things which we and our fellow-citizens experience day-by-day on our front doorstep in the way of influences, results, actions and reactions in the Federal Republic's party democracy? - How can all this be organized rationally as learning material? The twelve topics of our curriculum do not form a basic structure defining a research or investigation field in Party Democracy. They are, instead, a model according to which learning procedures can be organized. These learning procedures should activate the student, encouraging him to want to investigate and explain the problems relating to the presnt-day party-state, where this becomes evident directly or indirectly in the socialization area of his life.

This is why the learning unit begins - to give an example - with the provocative topic "Election campaign - a publicity spree?" It goes withour saying that this first learning sequence is aimed more at motivating the whole learning process than at giving factual information. It is more a stimulus for the learner (or individual learning groups)to encourage him to come to some agreement on the special investigation techniques needed to 'get to the bottom of' opinions and to make organizational preparations, than a means of teaching something about the questionability of election campaigns.

The development of our twelve learning sequences was defined on this principle. The principle, in other words, of investigating rhe subject complex party state/party democracy etc. in a learning process made up of situations which stimulate curiosity, inquiry, discovery, discussion of theses, argumentation and so on. Using this approach we tried to make the whole field of "Party Democracy", which is difficult for the learner to get an overview of, more accessible from two points of reference. Valid for the a-political adult as well as for young people, these two points are first of all the "common-place opinions" on elections and secondly the frequently discussed opinions on the "Influence" or "Lack of Influence", as the case may be, of a ccitizen on policies made in fact by people completely divorced from him. We have taken these two points of reference and from them have distinguished two areas of study that are mutually complementary :

- o one study-area has reference to the superficial experience the learner has of the election campaign run by the parties,
- o the other revolves around the question of political influence, which a citizen can gain without party aid; secondly the influence of a party member on the formation of public life; then the influence of the MP inside and outside the parties.

The diagram (see p.8) uses the model of an ellipse to clarify the structure of our learning material by means

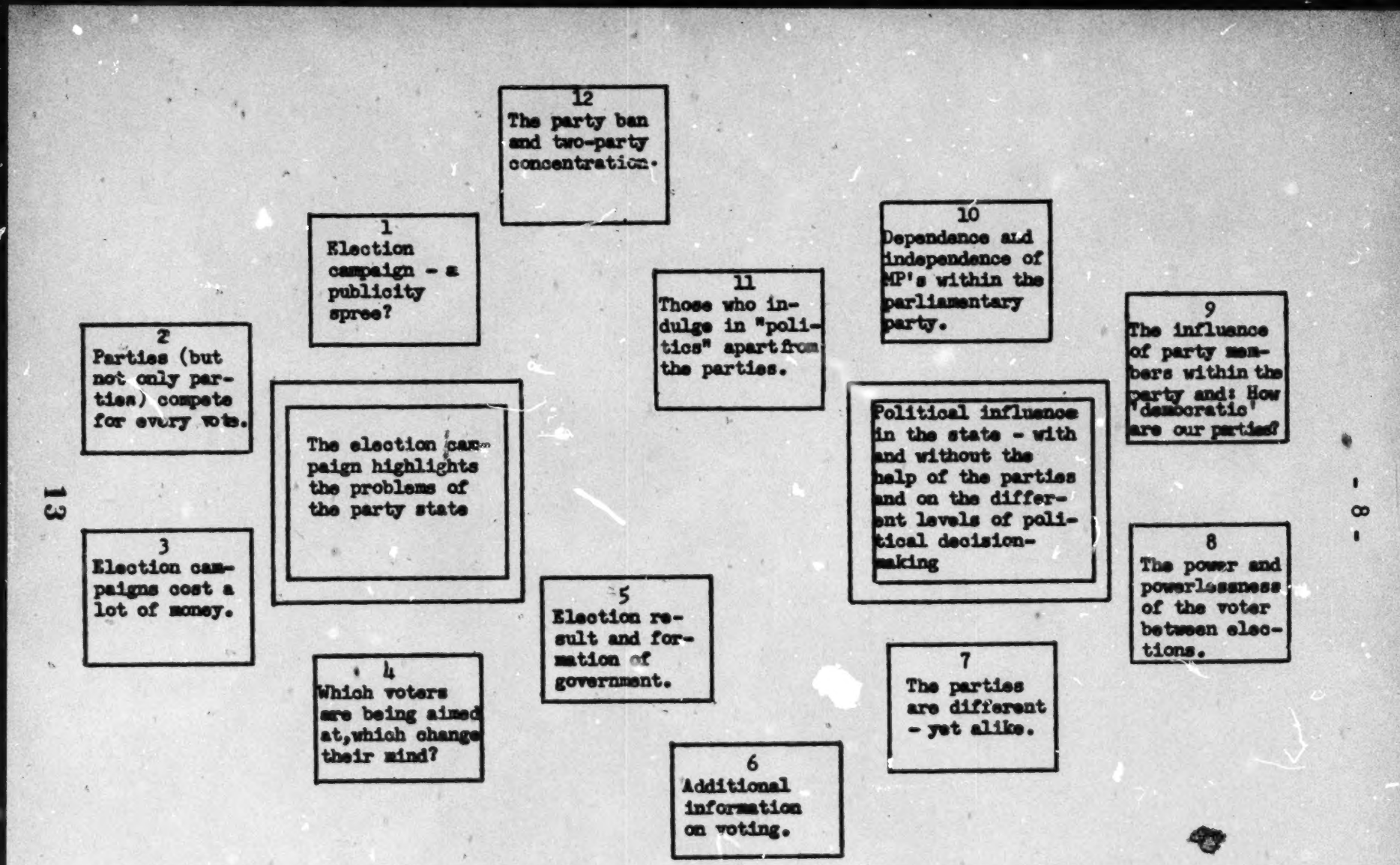
of two focal points. The individual learning sequences 1-12 can be considered as organized in numerical order on an elliptical path, as they (the 12 chapters) orbit around two <u>focal points</u>.

The first five chapters are directly related to the topic "Election campaign" (focal point 1). From this starting point, the role of the parties in our state can best be explained to the student. The parties' "Transmission function" (i.e. articulation of the interests of the people) can be analysed into its constituent problems directly from this complex.

Chapters 7-12 are thus centered around the second set of topics (focal point 2). The question here is that of the political influence the citizen has over the parties in each of a number of various roles :

- o When and where can the parties be called upon between elections to assert the political opinion of the ordinary citizen or of a group of people? (citizens' initiative)
- o What influence does the individual member have on his party's program, on election of delegates etc.?
- o How does inner-party democracy function?
- o When does parliamentary party discipline become parliamentary party coercion?
- o Do the parties really rule? - Or to what extent to associations and/or Ministerial bureaucracy rule?

The sixth chapter can be dealt with in relation to the focal point "Election campaign". To what extent the content of this part of the course (Election law, process, systems etc.) can be dealt with in detail, in shortened form, not at all or even elsewhere in the course must be decided on the basis of the relevant group of students.


12
The party ban and two-party concentration.
1
Election campaign - a publicity spree?
10
Dependence and independence of MP's within the parliamentary party.
11
Those who indulge in "politics" apart from the parties.
9
The influence of party members within the party and: How 'democratic' are our parties?
2
Parties (but not only parties) compete for every vote.
The election campaign highlights the problems of the party state
Political influence in the state - with and without the help of the parties and on the different levels of political decision-making
3
Election campaigns cost a lot of money.
5
Election result and formation of government.
8
The power and powerlessness of the voter between elections.
4
Which voters are being aimed at, which change their mind?
7
The parties are different - yet alike.
6
Additional information on voting.

The same is true of chapter twelve : this chapter deals with the question of the 'Sperrklausel' - a provision whereby a party has to gain at least 5% of the vote to be represented in parliament - (do new parties have any chance whatsoever of winning a place in parliament?) and also that of the "Party ban". These are without doubt questions of essential importance to the course. However, as these parts of the course can only be successfully discussed when the motives for such a discussion are unmistakeable, this complex of topics will be covered on the basis of the relevant group's situation rather than developing the problem on the basis of the texts. One possible motive for discussion is, for example, topical questions from the group on banning parties. From this point of view the subject matter of chapter 12 can also be covered elsewhere in the course.

A certain order of consideration for the chapters as well as a similar order for the objectives to be attained in each section has been recommended by means of the structuralization of the learning package. It must nevertheless be emphasized that this is not to be understood as a sort of learning program in which, for example, the section objectives of the first two chapters have to be attained before the student can go on to the next learning sequence.

1.4. Fourth question : What does the actual didactic structure of the mult-media program look like in the individual learning sequences?

This question can be answered using the example of "Learning Sequence 1". If the student opens the Reader, he will find beneath the graphically eye-catching title (see next page) a short text telling the reader what questions, allegations, inquiry procedures, undertakings etc. the documents (to be

Title of learning sequence : E L E C T I O N C A M P A I G N = A P U B L I C I T Y S P R E E ?

found on the pages of the Reader that follow) could or should stimulate. In this specific case the documents include party publicity handouts, election posters, caricatures, reports of election preparations etc. It is all up-to-date material taken from the German press, which seems at first glance to confirm the thesis expounded in the title. The newspaper and news-magazine documents are put together without further commentary - the source of the publication and where it appeared are of course clearly marked.

The teacher can read up in his handbook on what should be learned and how from this "black-on-white" documentation about the topic "Election campaign - a publicity spree". There he will find the objectives of this sequence and in conjunction a detailed commentary on the methodical construction of this part of the course, particularly as regards the possible alternatives of method.

It was especially important to me, when putting the Reader together, to tell the student himself what the people responsible for this learning package had in mind each time they put the most varied texts under a given heading and added photos, film sequences and statistics to them. What particular learning task we were thinking of when preparing the various media had to be clearly formulated for the student in question (and as far as possible in his own language - so as to take him out of his role as "object of the course"). Thus under the title described above "Election campaign - a publicity spree?" the following text is to be found in exactly these words :

"You already know that:

o Every four years the German parliament (Bundestag) is elected.
o Every four years the parties compete for the citizens' votes.
o Every four years the citizens decide what relative strength the parties will have in parliament.

This chapter would like to provoke you into looking more closely at the so-called publicity stunt of the election campaign. Here are some more opinions on the election campaign :

o The election campaign is a publicity campaign for the parties.
o The party with the best publicity agent is the most successful.
o Politicians consider voters as their clients.
o In party head offices the question is asked: 'How best can we sell our candidate?'.
o In election campaigns the factual confrontation over political questions only plays a minor role.
o "Policies" are usually brought onto the "election campaign" market like washing powders.
o Political slogans are often sold in a "show".

These and similar claims are made in the first film. Is everything asserted in the film actually true? In the following chapters you will find material which will permit you to check such claims."

So much for instructions to the student in the Reader. Let us now take another look at the film sequence quoted in the Reader. This filmstrip shows a pot-pourri of campaign scenes from the year 1965. The film caricatures the election campaign, then, and questions its political function as part of a process of forming public opinion on political issues. In many of the commentary's sentences, in the cutting together of the pictures it presents a provocation.

Like every other filmstrip in the course, this one too has a "leader". For just as the printed documents in the Reader were prefaced with the above-quoted lines on possible impressions to be aimed at, the film too is prefaced by a leader in which we have carefully formulated some of the aspects under which the film can be considered and questioned.

The intentions of the curriculum-makers should therefore also be made known to the learners. The learners should not simply "consume" a given sequence according to pre-defined objectives. They should also be able to participate in the construction and further development of the curriculum. What does that mean? This can best be shown by means of the concrete example of the first learning sequence already described. The questions prefaced on to the film constitute the general question :

"To what extent would you agree with the opinions presented by the film, and to what extent would you disagree?"

This means that each group of students is invited to answer not only the pre-formulated question but also completely different questions, and to consider the medium under completely new aspects.

In a "Synopsis" (see Fig.2) we have shown how the same objectives are formulated in different words, first for the teacher, secondly for the student. In this way we hope to demonstrate our intention to the teacher and to explain to him the aim of arousing the students' interest in each planned or potential learning task.

Synopsis

- Fig. 2 -

Title of Learning Sequence	Objectives and functions of the learning sequence Section objectives - formulated for the teacher	Questions/Functions/Objectives - formulated for the student	
1 Election campaign - a publicity spree?	The teacher should be in a position to: make notes on opinions about election campaigns (expressed in the 1st film sequence) classify them for an initial open discussion and question their validity, formulate further questions on election campaigns, taking into account his/her own experience in campaign situations and at the same time conceptualize, when the occasion arises concepts such as "election promise","behavior of the electorate", "opinion polls", "publicity", "slogans", "the image of the party leader", "election campaign methods" both in the written and spoken mode, express him/herself on the fact that (and why) political programs and rational argument often do not play a major role in election campaigns.	- in the leader to the Filmspot Unfavourable opinions about what parties do are widespread in our country. o You too might well agree with some of what is said in this film o We would like to know: Which you agree with? Which you don't?	- in the preface to the Reader chapter "Opinions on election campaigns" for example: "Politicians consider voters as their clients" or: "Political slogans are often sold in a "show". o Are opinions like this correct, that amongst other things are also expressed in the film? o Which of these claims can be checked?

2. On theorems used in developing the curriculum "Party Democracy"

During the "presentation"of our curriculum I have as far as possible up to now avoided any theoretical explanations -i.e. the criteria governing decisions made in the process of the practical development and testing of this course. But in retrospect one can't ignore the fact that in presenting this curriculum in this way, explicitly articulating what can be shown as a concrete product, a certain amount of theory has already been transmitted. Similarly in the following description of some principle questions of theory the practical side of our curriculum work cannot simply be eliminated. On the contrary - it has to be included because we are concerned with the principle questions underlying a practice-oriented curriculum development.

In consequence (so as to stay close to the basis of our practical work) the second part of my paper will deal with those concepts which have been used as "self-evident" categories when working with the individual parts of the learning package. These categories are used as sub-titles in the project, and as sub-headings in the paper-back and in the teacher's handbook, without the theorems implied by them ever being noted and without the theorems themselves serving to explain what "actually happens" when such curricula are constructed. The technical terms are as follows :

1. Party Democracy as learning material
2. The curriculum as a multi-media based course
3. The development of an objective-oriented teaching approach
4. The "Party Democracy" teaching unit as an open curriculum

2.1. First thesis : Party Democracy as learning material

What I mean by learning material has already been briefly described, when justifying the thematic structure of the projected learning process. In particular I made it clear that the structuring of a discipline, that is to say the scientific structuring of a complex of facts cannot provide the framework onto which the guidelines of a learning process can be woven and maintained. This claim will now be justified in greater detail.

By making this statement I explicitly contradict those education scientists who, among other things, by referring to one of Jerome S. Bruner's theories, defend the position that the Structure of a Science (or the basic principles of scientific cognition in a discipline) provide the structure in which and with which each student can tackle each subject optimally. I deny this because,firstly it is to be doubted that so-called "structures" in disciplines can have the same weight and the same function for each example of subject specific scientific cognition (if one can in fact actually use such a general concept as "structure" as a key-word in every discipline!) - Compare for example Physics and History.

But I deny it secondly because in relation to the subject -complex "Parties, Party System, Party Democracy" and so on I don't receive any clear answer from the social sciences to the question 'how is our subject-complex structured as a scientifically explicated object of cognition?' I doubt therefore whether one clearly defined object for the process of cognition exists in the case of the topic "parties". I suspect rather that there are also various patterns of analysis for the various sciences so as to be able each time to conceptualize the whole complex of "political parties". Party Democracy as an object of cognition presents a completely different subject for research depending on whether one looks at it through the eyes of A. Hennis or W. Abendroth.

This dependance of an object of cognition on scientific position makes us doubt the assertion that one could deduce a didactic structure from this topic of cognition, thereby trusting "objective findings" and "structures founded in the subject matter itself" - trusting in other words, everything that academic research presents as "the subject itself". Object of cognition and learning matter are not identical in every case of curriculum development as is sometimes claimed.

Having dissociated myself from the "material" offered by subject specialists does not mean, however, that I consider their contribution to practice-oriented curriculum development as small or even superfluous. Of course in a world turned scientific, when constructing learning matter, we permanently need to refer to the categories and instruments with which specialist researchers try to make the relevant piece of the world understandable.

As practitioners on the spot and as educators we asked political scientists in the case of our curriculum work, how in fact they as specialists viewed the field of study we had in mind for our course. All that we could learn about the subject-complex in question from the political scientists and sociologists we tried to draw up in a list, so as to include in the development of our learning material, where the relevant objective-based teaching sequence required, scientific understanding, but also scientific methods and categories. Let us first of all look at the subject-complexes which we listed as "offered" by the specialists, so as then to be able to clarify the function of this offer :

1. The Federal Republic of Germany is to be considered as a democracy based on political parties since exclusively political parties are in competition for political power, both in the legislative and executive branches. The power restricted to a given period of time accorded one or more parties is legitimated by democratic elections.

2. In contrast to interest groups parties today usually present a wide-reaching program. These programs - unlike earlier - are not usually based on an ideology (Weltanschauung) and are to a lesser extent than earlier linked to a social group (stratum/class). Insofar as party programs are developed with the aim of being or becoming acceptable to every population group, the programs of the different parties have moved closer to one another.

3. The political parties present more or less obviously differing programs and offer alternative personalities for the holding of government office. They are therefore a condition for the formation of the population's political will.

4. The political will of the electorate is structured by the program and personality alternatives offered by the existing parties in the election campaign. This will defines the relative strength of the parties in parliament.

5. Between elections the population has no institutionalized means of articulating and imposing its political will. Direct participation of the electorate in the appointment of state officials and in legislation is not foreseen by our constitution. This renouncement of plebiscites in political life results directly from past experience (during the Weimar Republic).

6. The MP's are not so much representatives of the whole people as party functionaries with specific tasks to fulfil.

7. Because of the reduction of institutionalized political participation of the electorate to one vote for a party every four years, inner-party democracy is a decisive condition of the democratic character of a party state.

8. The conditions for inner-party democracy include :

   a) decisive influence of party members on the party's political program (formation of will proceeding from the base upwards);

   b) decisive influence of party members on filling positions within the party leadership and of political offices;

   c) control of party élites by members;

   d) the possibility to form parties within the party (inner-party opposition).

   Inner-party democracy is endangered by :

   a) too low a party-membership;

   b) too few active party-members;

   c) the particular position and function of the party élite (the knowledge posessed by those in power, their access to and opportunity to use the party apparatus etc.);

   d) indirect communication of decisions of will from the base;

   e) the influence of pressure groups on the decision -making process of the party leadership.

10. Political decisions in parliament (made by parties) are not made exclusively on the basis of the party programs. Neither are they always made according to the voters' expectations. They can be decisively affected by demands and reactions from the public (e.g. via the mass media or extra-parliamentary opposition), but also by interest organizations.

I have quoted this in detail for two reasons. Firstly it shows to what extent and in what detail we kept in mind the object of cognition as an orienting frame during the planning of our development work as well as during the decision processes on content-based objectives. Secondly a comparison of the subject matter as structured in this list with the thematic organization of our learning material (see p. 8) shows that during development of the curriculum we neither could nor wished in any way to follow the thematic organization that had resulted from this political science draft analysis (approximately as shown in our list).

The twelve learning sequences of our curriculum have a completely different frame of reference to the subject-complex as listed in the presentation provided by the subject-specialists. The frame of reference in which the educator makes a structural analysis of Party Democracy as learning material is defined by the place of institutionalized learning, i.e. by the school or school-like institution. They have to be taken into account to permit the organization of those learning processes in which the learner will, as far as possible, be capable of discovering Party Democracy as a subject of his own, will be stimulated to reflect upon his behavior, largely unconscious, towards parties and the party state and to begin to modify this behavior. In this context the object of cognition can indeed not be completely ignored, but it is in this case rarely more than a means of ensuring that, for example, one becomes aware of new factual relationships within the subject or new discoveries and questions (particularly within restricted learning situations).

It must be clearly stated that the learning material itself appears again and again in a completely new light during the actual formation of such a frame of reference. It is not a "product" therefore that can be taken home black on white. It is instead something that only receives the final touches during the actual learning processes and finds its significance in that, although aimed at discovering new insights, its quality lies in the discovery process itself, in the inclusivity of the subject in the "content" within the context of actions and interactions.

2.2. Second thesis : The curriculum as a multi-media based course

The initiators of our project, members of the Federal Office for Political Education were (as already mentioned) originally interested in examining above all the possibilities of multi-media teaching in the realm of political education on the basis of a concrete case. These initial

aims, when considered from our present standpoint, were largely "a result of the times". These preoccupations, which the "fathers" of this project (to whom I do not belong) had in 1969, can be reduced to three sub-theses, each a direct result of the times in which they were coined.

Sub-thesis No.1 : If (as an empirical investigation on "The effectiveness of political education in the Federal Republic of Germany"could already show in 1966) teachers at the secondary stage (I) on the basis of their "attitude", their "role-comprehension", their "anti-party feelings" etc. do not seem qualified (in the year 1969) to develop a political course aimed at producing "readiness for political commitment" in young people in conjunction with a discriminatory political awareness, then the official and unofficial committees in our society who acknowledge their responsibility for political education are called upon to aid the development of such learning and teaching materials and of such curricula as could permit largely teacher-independant courses

Sub-thesis No.2 : A "media-mix course", if it actually produces a multi-media learning program, can replace traditional teacher-centered courses. In this way those courses could be avoided, which are still predominant in political and social institutions teaching in our schools. That is to say, those courses in which the teacher (as indicated) as a result of his lack of reflection in role behavior has a much greater influence on the social and political learning of his pupil, than in a politics course in which the content is transmitted word for word according to the syllabus or according the texts of the school-books.

Sub-thesis No.3 : As a result in 1969 for every federal state it was decided to develop an experimental multi-media course for the relevant political education topic: "Parties" and "Party State"etc., so as to test by means of

such a pilot curriculum the advantages such a project could have compared with traditional courses on this topic.

One must consider in conjunction with this that we also carried out in the winter of 1973 on the basis of aspects of these three theses from the period of 1969, an explorative investigation in Hamburg school classes (as mentioned above). During this investigation the following hypotheses as regards the advantages of a media-based course were to be examined. Whether a media-based course could :

- enable a more pertinent structural analysis of the subject to be learned,
- explain the learning material from many different angles,
- motivate the learner in many and lasting ways,
- release the teacher from time-consuming and often insufficient preparation,
- make the teacher available for individualized learning and speed up the achievement of the aimed for objective.

This is not the place to explain why this explorative investigation could neither confirm nor deny the hypotheses quoted. More important, it seems to me, is to explain what the teaching experiments carried out up to the present with the learning package on Party Democracy have shown as regards the multi-media element, at least according to the subjective observation of all those involved :

1. As a result of the unusual and rich learning materials the pupils were much more strongly motivated than before to participate in the course, even though the course, without exception, was held in a conventional manner.
2. There was no marked change in the working, i.e. teaching/learning methods in the trial classes. Neither increased group work, nor increased work using the

discovery method could be noted.

3. The teachers in the experiment, as in traditional courses, continued to play the part of course leader (without exception in the front-of-class teaching mode) and, contrary to expectations, hardly ever functioned as a moderator of learning processes.

According to subjective observation then, the Hamburg experiment - insofar as it was to be understood as a contribution to research into the efficacy of media-mix teaching - has only confirmed what criticism is at present being levelled at educational technology and related "theories" in the Federal Republic (approx. since 1973/74). The criticism is the discouraging conclusion that no empirically verified statement can be made on the value of media-mix teaching as regards the demands of present-day curriculum development, since the preconditions for a comprehensive investigation of this field have as yet not been fulfilled. They have not been fulfilled insofar as a suitable theoretical formation is concerned and also as regards the creation of suitable investigatory instruments.

Our experiment in Hamburg, which on its first approach tried to put together a multi-media learning package practically free of theoretical grounding, did show those of us practically involved in the experiment two things:

- on the one hand, that in curriculum development media-teaching can be no more than one means that can be used under certain conditions to intensify or speed up the learning process or even to reduce it in length without reducing it in quality.
- on the other hand, that by opting for a multi-media curriculum (if this decision is based on the fact of wanting to develop a teacher-independant curriculum) one inevitably moves towards a curriculum model comparable to programmed learning.

Thus one day during its first working phase, the Hamburg group found itself faced with the question: Should we really accept the consequence of further development towards a multi-media learning project, i.e. the "closed curriculum" (engineering model) towards which we are inevitably moving? Our reply was in the negative. After consultation with the "Federal Office", we soon consciously constructed our course unit as an "open curriculum", which will be discussed in the last section.

2.3. Third thesis : The development of a curriculum oriented towards learning objectives

The team's intention to develop an objective-based curriculum means that it cannot simply be a question of facts and figures about parties, the party state etc. methodically applied as content to be conveyed. On the other hand we had no intention of following behaviorist theories with this objective-related emphasis. In fact a curriculum theory, according to which the derivation of behavioral objectives from the highest level of the hierarchy of objectives/qualifications may only admit "content-neutral" formulations of learning objectives (i.e. an objective giving no hint of possible means of application and thus no suggestions as to content) even down to the lowest hierachical level of individual course sequences, would for many reasons have been contrary to our project's approach.

Thus such deductive ideas had for obvious reasons to be rejected. For on the basis of the contract accepted, i.e. the construction of a "media-mix teaching unit" on a complex of themes, where the content is clearly identified : parties, party state etc., a content-based field of study was fixed from the outset and could only have been incorporated into a "derivational system of behavioral objectives" by means of tricks. Thus as regards the concrete task to be carried out, we based our approach on content or task-oriented learning objectives and

entitled these "medium-range objectives" because they lie within the range of the task to be carried out and are defined according to the interpretation of this task.

The decision on medium-range objectives was not, however, made purely for pragmatic reasons. As regards basic pronciples - independant of the task we had been charged with - we are against laying down objectives using only content-neutral formulations. For, in contrast to representatives of a behaviorist theory, we believe that every kind of learning is already - at least indirectly - fixed to particular "contents", i.e. socially-transmitted contents. Thus "Party Democracy" has become for us an important and even irreplaceable problem complex for the field of study of politics in contemporary Federal Germany. This is because it has been shown that particular insights and attitudes - e.g. motivation of the public towards political commitment can only be learned in relation to and via this complex of problems and facts.

Our"medium-range objectives" were sought and discovered then in those areas where young people in Germany come into contact with political processes outside their own front door, as it were, - and where they are always already armed with prejudices and prescience of "the world of politics large and small" - and by which they have already been concerned. The objectives relate then to the learner's experience opportunities with contemporary politics, that is to say with those that come within his range of experience and in which the problem and problems of present-day party democracy in Germany occur or at least could occur. That defines the area in which we can now specify the actual task of our project by means of the following five objectives.

The learner should be in a position :

1. to learn to discover our contemporary political party system in Germany by means of particular situations and actions that he has access to presented as partial representations or reflections of unsolved political problems,
2. to know (and to want to know) how to investigate the way in which certain party "promises" are kept (or, as the case may be, not kept),
3. to recognize and discuss (as well as to want to make public) the ways and means in which he and other citizens can gain influence on political processes via existing parties, or how to actively participate in or intiate political processes outside of existing parties,
4. to find out where (and why) the present party system in our country is limited in its ability to carry out the tasks formulated in the relevant party program,
5. to answer (without avoiding the problem),as far as possible offering alternative solutions, the question of whether a democratically thinking citizen actually has an opportunity today to articulate his political ideas in relation to the constitution in the context of one of today's parties and to actively further the realization of such ideas.

Having opted for a "medium-range objective" orientation, we of course also considered and discussed goals and aims at the highest level, because we needed them as a check point - a frame of reference, according to which we had to place our particular topic Party Democracy within the global field "Politics" - according to which also we could examine our basic consensus with questions of pedagogical theory and practice. For this reason and this reason alone the following three theses were relevant for the practice-side of the development work :

- The learner should be capable of self-determination

(self-identity and role distance);

- he should be capable of acting in co-operation and in solidarity with others;

- he should be capable of participating in the productive construction of social reality.

The fact that such hypothetical goals can be presented as empty formulae was no handicap for our work, as we in no way claimed with these formulations to want to "derive" from them content-related learning sequences. We were concerned only with ensuring again and again the general aim of the total framework both when specifying the medium-range objectives and above all when reducing the objectives at the lowest level into concrete terms.

However, the decision to consider Party Democracy as a central theme within a total curriculum for political learning in Germany, was accompanied with other problems, which must be considered in conclusion :

As already remarked upon, the particular topic dealing principally with the subject "parties" has for many years been considered suspect in the political-didactic discussion. The reasons for this are well-known and do not need to be presented yet again. It is, however, possible that having dissociated ourselves in no uncertain terms from a "warmed-up" civics course, we have still been misunderstood by many teachers who start to study our project, because in connection with the problem of objectives we have laid great emphasis on the formulation of content-based objectives. The term content-based is and remains unclear. Yet as we have no better suited term we must in our dilemma point out again that we do not wish when using this term to propagate a given "content". In our view, whatever concrete things have to be learned, they may not be considered as "products". It refers instead above all to the learning process itself, to what can be extracted from and by this process as "learning material".

In this way, we tried to formulate the operationalized objectives of the project, or at least (in the commentary to our Methodical Hints) to explain the learning tasks of the sequence in question as interactions between learners or between students and teachers. This aim was not always easy to fulfil, since in our curriculum development in practice we could only suggest - without exact knowledge of the learning conditions and pre-conditions of future groups of learners - within a theoretical framework, the complex of conditions for such processes. Thus when trying to formulate certain detailed objectives, we had to predict how, under varying conditions, one brings into play a given topic for a school-class, a group of young people so that the topic can be seen to be "contentious", so that curiosity is aroused, and they are provoked into inquiring into and investigating it and so that in this way a means of communciation serves as go-between for the interacting persons. Only this embodiment of the hypothetical objectives of social learning within the domain of content-based learning can prevent us from falling back yet again on the old fashioned civics course and presenting "The Emperor's New Clothes" behind a facade of modern formulations of objectives. This principle of embodiment is also the reason why it was unneccessary in our curriculum development in practice to differentiate between cognitive and affective objectives, between "social" and "factual" learning.

2.4. Fourth thesis : The "Party Democracy" teaching unit as an "open curriculum"

The commentary on this point need only be short, given that the previous sections have shown how, with time, in our development work on the project "Party Democracy", we moved away from our original task, that of constructing a media-mix largely teacher-independant curriculum. In retrospect, it can be said today that in 1969 we began work on producing a kind of "closed curriculum". At that

time and as a result of the initiators' special interest in the testing of media-teaching in politics, our aim was still to develop a "product"-oriented curriculum. That also meant specifying operationalized objectives to be able to carry out evaluation on varying aspects.

Two reasons, however, led us to discard the idea of a "closed curriculum" for the topic "Party Democracy". The first was the practical experience acquired in classes in the 9th and 10th grade, the second was newer experience from the curriculum discussion (supported by theoretical studies and a number of personal practical experiments) in the field of social learning in comprehensive schools. Our reasons were :

1. On the basis of our goals in the field of politics and as regarded the "medium-range objectives" we had formulated, we saw no way of achieving the operationalized objectives formulated (or for example of being able to develop tests for 'success controls' etc.).

2. Furthermore on the basis of our position with regard to a theory of cognition, we could not fix upon a "reduced learning concept" of behaviorist origin.

3. We had to arm ourselves against a conception of the pupil's role, that reduced him to a mere object, but above all that also allowed the teacher in concrete cases to function only as a moderator, denying him any opportunity to modify the curriculum.

4. What seemed particularly difficult to us, however, was the fact that this closed curriculum would have to exclude completely the school and teaching situation, thus making it into a kind of "hidden curriculum" whose effect, very unfortunately, had to remain unevaluated.

In contrast to this we have tried to present the drafted curriculum as an "open" one, even though at first sight the sequencing might appear to be a "concisely presented plan". The only thing in our project to be pre-defined is a "steering agent for all the ways and means in which a cannon of objectives should be attained". (Definitions of the concept 'curriculum' are worded in this or a similar way); our curriculum would therefore only in a very limited way be a project in this strict sense of the term curriculum. It is "open", i.e. it is to some extent incomplete, incomplete because teacher and learner have to take part in modifications to the curriculum under certain conditions. The development of the curriculum is not, in our view, complete. It must be continued in the test phase to come. Thus the presentation of the texts in a (loose-leaf) ring-binder was and is important to us. The authority of the school-book is to be consciously banished.

The decisive reason, however, for rejecting a closed curriculum was and is to be found in the conviction that has already been dealt with under 2.3. - the problem of "content-learning". It was decisive for us to construct a politically relevant curriculum that was not "context-neutral" but instead "context-related" : We would like the draft of our project to be understood such that the relevant concrete interaction processes in the groups of learners (including their socialization background as a basis) will be validated within a learning process that has been only provisionally structured. We have already recognized this "openness" in the draft of the Reader, in that we have added an "Appendix" to the 12 chapters. Here the learner will find among other things texts from "party platforms", from the Basic Constitution (Grundgesetz), texts on "election law", "election procedures" and "election systems", plus characteristics of "interest groups" which play a role in Germany and finally a detailed glossary on the subject as a whole. The broad application of this appendix, which consciously omits any formulation of working instructions, provides material

that can be studied in conjunction with the project. They were not planned as working tools, but should merely provide our school experiments with "play-material", that as a supplement to the media offered can also be used as a stimulus to innovative working in the sense of an "open curriculum" with materials "strictly" planned into learning sequences.

Translated by J.L. Bates
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